1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ends of the main portion of the sling, and then looped on themselves through a slit near one end.

The bull-roarer and buzzer were both well known to the Gros Ventre, but seem to be only children's toys. They were both called nakaa"ta" ("making cold," a name given also to the thermometer), probably from the widespread Indian idea that the bull-roarer breeds wind. The buzzer was made of a foot-bone of a buffalo, with a sinew string on each side, by which it was twirled, and then drawn so as to hum. The Arapaho type of buzzer is the same. The Gros Ventre bull-roarer seems to differ from the Arapaho form. Fig. 26 shows one of two very similar models, both of wood. The small, well-marked head, the long taper and point, and the numerous small notches, mark a distinct form. The sinew string is of about the length of the stick handle.

WAR.

Men generally went to war on foot, carrying food and moccasins on their backs. While on the trip they did not boil meat, but roasted it. Scouts, called "wolves," were sent out ahead. When these returned, running in a zigzag course, and shouting, it was a sign that they had seen something. If they had seen lodges, they barked like wolves. While they came, the women in the party stood in a row and sang, having made a pile of buffalo-chips. The "wolves" stopped a short distance away, and the leader of the party went to them. They came with him back to the pile of buffalo-chips, where he stopped, and, facing the party, recounted coups. After this, one of the scouts came before them and reported what he had seen. Upon this, all rushed at the pile of buffalo-chips, and kicked them about. If the enemy were near, they would now take off their heavier clothing, such as their robes, and dress and paint for war.

On returning to their camp victorious, the party approached stealthily, and made a charge upon it, often shooting; and sometimes the people in the tents jumped up out of their sleep in the early morning, thinking they had been attacked. The man who had killed an enemy, the one who had struck him first (whether dead or alive), and the one who had taken his gun, were held in about the same esteem. After the return to camp, a dance was made. Drums were beaten; and the women, who were standing in a curved row, danced in a circle toward the men, who stood in a row, and back again. The women carried the new scalps on sticks. If an enemy were killed near the home camp, his feet and hands might be cut off and carried on sticks, like the scalps. During this dance the man who first

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical raw-hide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling parfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kaka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, *b*) has various wasõõ ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, *c*) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, *d*) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, *a*) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

1; Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

All that has been described took place for four successive days. While it is not clearly so stated, it seems likely that the four nights on which medicine was given to the dancers' wives constituted the four-days' period of painting and dancing. On the fourth day, after the dancing, certain special spectacular ceremonies were gone through, analogous to those which in all the succeeding dances terminated the ceremony. In this dance, however, a second period of four days, in which the dancers acted in their assumed capacity of being crazy or foolish, followed these spectacular ceremonies of the fourth day. 796

On this fourth day, two prominent chiefs, noted for their success in war, were selected. They held bared knives, and two tent-poles were brought to them. Each of them recounted four of his most distinguished coups. They then cut up the tent-poles into small pieces, and piled them up at the fireplace of the lodge and set them on fire. The flames blazed up high, while the dancers stood north and south of the fire with their "grandfathers" and danced. The fire was kept up and tended so that all the wood would be simultaneously consumed. The dancers' relatives held them by the hair or body, wherever they could seize them, while the dancers stood like horses trying to break loose, and blew their whistles. Each tried to be the first to rush into the fire. They seem to have moved toward the fire four times without entering it. The fourth time, at a signal, they were released, and rushed into the fire, dancing and stamping it with their bare feet until they had put it out. Medicine was put on the skin, and no one is said to have been burned; but men have fainted in the fire. One informant, who said that he had been the first to jump into the fire, stated that the soles of his feet became very hot, but that his skin was not burned. [554] [789]

After the fire had been put out, the dancers went to their "grandfathers," who prayed over their bows, put medicine on them, and gave them to the young men. The old men then sang and the dancers marched around in a circle for four songs. At the end of the last song, they ran out of the lodge, racing to a monument, which had been erected by the young men of other companies, at some distance to the southeast, and back again to the lodge. As they returned, each passed between two men standing near the entrance of the lodge, to whom he gave his bow as he ran between them. One of these two men was the tallest man that could be secured; the other was as short as possible. One of them took the bows of the tall division of dancers; the other, of the short division. It is said that these two men received bows until they had a large armful, but that they never made a mistake in taking a bow from a man of the other division. It appears, however, that the racers carried their bows in their right or left 796 526

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

an enemy; and each took from among the property as nearly as possible such objects as he had actually captured in war. One who had stolen horses would take a horse; one who had taken a gun from an enemy would pick out a gun. While this was being done, or soon after, the dancers were dancing, concluding with a race similar to that in the crazy-dance. This marked the end of the ceremony.

There were several degrees of distinction in this dance. Two men had crooked lances wrapped with otter-skin. In four places these lances were tied about with small strips of white fur from which a pair of eagle-feathers hung. These lances were called nouçä"ts'ta". Two other lances were straight, and wrapped with jack-rabbit skin. These also bore feathers. A single dancer had a rattle of the globular shape common on the Plains. Half of the rattle was painted red, and half blue; and feathers were attached both to the top of the rattle and to the bottom of its handle. These regalia of honor were given to men renowned in war. A pipe was brought such a man, and if he thought himself entitled to the honor, and was ready to accept it, he took the pipe. If a man felt that others were really braver than himself, or had some other reason, he refused to take the pipe. One informant stated that he had declined the proffered honor because his wife's brother had recently died. The rank and file of the kit-fox dancers are said to have worn belts of prairie-dog skin. How far these corresponded with the biitaha"wu belts of the Arapaho is uncertain. The fur-wrapped crooked and straight lances are certainly similar to the crooked and straight lances indicating the second and third degrees in the Arapaho biitaha"wu.

Two girls took part in this ceremony. They were girls who were much thought of and beloved by their relatives. One of the dancers carried a kit-fox skin, the inside of which was painted blue. His companion had the rattle that has been described. While he rattled, the other, holding the skin by the neck and the tail, pointed it at the other dancers. These ran off, and this seems to have been the signal for the beginning of the dance. The two girls followed these two men everywhere. Their parents and relatives gave away great quantities of property in the dancing-lodge. Something similar is found in one of the Cheyenne society-dances, in which four young women accompanied the dancers from place to place.

Nothing was learned about the origin of the kit-fox dance, except that it is said to have been given by the kit-foxes, which is like what the Cheyenne tell of their analogous society.

A neck-band of badger-skin is the only object secured said to have been used in the kit-fox dance. To the end of it a tip of whitish rabbit-fur is attached. The lower part of the piece, which bears this rabbit-fur, hangs down the dancer's back. The upper portion, which is about four inches wide, is slit for a distance of a foot. Through this slit the head is inserted.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The Dog-Dance.

796 Next after the kit-fox dance is the dog-dance, hotibya"wu. The dancers were called hotibyi ("dogs"). What has been said about the general course of the kit-fox ceremony applies also to this. On the last day, the dancers danced before the tents of several prominent men of the tribe for gifts. Then, going ahead of the route which the camp would take, they spread out this property and waited. When the camp arrived, a stick with rattles attached, similar to that used for the same purpose in the crazy-dance, was struck on the ground by one of the old men, whereupon the singing commenced, and the dancers danced four times. At the end of the fourth song, they raced, during which time, if not before, the people of the camp, it appears, seized the property.

The dog-dance is said to have been given by a dog. A long-haired dog was left behind when the camp left. An old man going into the hills to acquire supernatural power saw the dog following the trail, and, wondering, went to see, and pitied him. He went to sleep by him; and the dog, knowing the old man's pity for him, pitied him, and, appearing to him in a dream, said he would give him a dance, the dog-dance. He especially described to him the highest degree of the dance, the tsööyanchi, which seems to be a representation of himself.

796 292 The dancers wore a strip of skin or red cloth on which four round figures were embroidered in quills, and which passed over one shoulder and under the other, the lower end dragging on the ground. At this end there was a hole, through which, in time of war, a stick was stuck. The wearers then did not flee, even if to remain resulted in their being killed. These scarfs appear to have resembled closely the scarfs worn by the Arapaho dancers of the second and third degree in the same ceremony. They were called naa"tsööya". In addition the dancers wore bunchy head-dresses of owl feathers and of two eagle-feathers. They also carried rattles of a stick on which hoofs were hung.

796 ● 554 292 Two men were of higher degree, that is to say, honored on account of bravery. These were the "shaggy dogs," and were called tsööyanchin, the dialectic equivalent of the Arapaho teiiyanchina". Among the Arapaho, however, there is only one dancer of this highest degree. As among the Arapaho, these men did not get up, or take part in the dancing, unless they were struck, or driven to it. They wore a shirt all over which circles were fastened in *appliqué*. To the centre of each circle, feathers were attached. On their heads they had owl-feather bunches like those of the rank and file of the dancers; and around their necks were long strings of bear-claws.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1903
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

They also had rattles similar to those of the rank and file of dog-dancers,— a row of small hoofs attached to a stick, — except that the rattles of the tsööyanehin were forked instead of single. In addition they each had a long wooden whistle. 796 554 292

Some of the "grandfathers" are said also to have worn scarfs, like the dancers; but as these were made of pieces of old tent-skins, undecorated and ugly, it is probable that this action was intended to be ridiculous.

The "shaggy dog" took his whistle, forked rattle, and head-dress with him when he went to the lodge, but left his crow-feather-covered shirt behind. When he was in the lodge, a woman was sent for the shirt. She put it on, and went to the lodge, wearing it. Standing before the "shaggy dog," she pulled it off, and, holding it open at the bottom, moved four times as if to put it on him. The fourth time, she drew it over and on him. The place of the two "shaggy dogs" in the lodge was at the western end, the middle of the back.

The dog-lodge is described as having been constructed like the crazy-lodge, and to have had the same small screen or partial enclosure at the eastern end, facing the entrance of the lodge. 796 [346]

The beginning of the dancing was as follows. One of the old men who would sing, went in a circle four times. He was followed by the two "shaggy dogs." The old man began to sing and dance, and the two "shaggy dogs" whistled. When they moved to any distance away from him, the old man motioned and clicked to them, as one does to a dog. Then they danced toward him. After this, the rank and file of the dancers stood up and danced. Four servants of the dance, said to have been chiefs, sat in front of the small enclosure at the east. When they thought that the dancers had danced long enough, one of these went among them and said, "Friends, rest." Thereupon they all stopped dancing, standing in their places. Then this man told a war story. When the singers thought that the dancers had rested sufficiently, they began to sing and the members of the company took up their dancing again. Altogether they danced four times, being made to rest each time by the exhortation of an old man who told a war story. This dancing took place four days, during which period the dancers were supposed not to sleep.

When at night the dancers left the lodge and danced before the tents of chiefs, begging for gifts, the two "shaggy dogs" are said to have stood by the door of the tent. It is therefore probable that the body of the dancers formed a circle in front of the tent, as they do among the Arapaho on this occasion. When the owner of the tent had given them property, he pulled at the flaps hanging at the sides of the feather-covered shirts of the "shaggy dogs," whereupon they sat down and the dancing ceased. This dancing for gifts is said to have continued for four entire nights. [431]

1; Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

171
796
[292]
[887]
[554]
[302]
[431]

to the Arapaho "white-stand" and "red-stand" head-dresses of upright feathers surrounding the head. The dancers are described as all old or elderly women, which among the Arapaho was not the case. The exceptions were two participants called "calves" (nihanou, "yellow calves"), who were middle-aged, or, at any rate, adults. Among the Arapaho the "calves" were children. There is a further difference, that, whereas among the Arapaho the "calves" were of high degree in the dance and for the greater part of the time were not allowed to stir, the Gros Ventre "calves" took the place of the atsaan or servants in the men's dances. They are said to have worn no regalia. The dancers were painted with the symbol of a pipe on each cheek, close under the eye. Old men sang for them, rattling but not using a drum. The women in dancing shifted their weight from one side of the body to the other, and cried like crows. Two tent-poles, two pegs, and two ropes belonging to the dancing-lodge, were painted respectively one black and one red. On the fourth day of the ceremony there were observances outside of the dancing-lodge. A prominent chief was selected to take a burning stick. The dancers, moving and running about like a herd of buffalo, pretended to scent the smoke of his fire from windward, and stampeded. Another distinguished warrior pretended to shoot at the herd as if they were buffalo. Both of these features of the ceremony are found among the Arapaho. A third distinguished man (or perhaps several) was honored by being offered a pipe to smoke, and on his acceptance was given a vessel of water containing berries. He then gave away property.

The Sun-Dance.

796

As stated before, the Gros Ventre sun-dance, haçeiha^{n}w^{u}, is not restricted to men belonging to certain age-companies, but, as among the Arapaho, can be made by any man.[1] Like the other dances, however, it is made as the result of the pledge of an individual for deliverance from sickness or danger. As soon as the pledge has been publicly announced, or as soon thereafter as the buffalo begin to get fat in spring, the pledger and his relatives begin to accumulate buffalo-tongues, which they slice and dry like buffalo-meat. They also save a buffalo-skin, which is packed with the tongues, two sticks being wrapped up in it. When the time comes, a large lodge made of two tent-covers is set up in the middle of the camp-circle. Into this many women enter at night to sing. This marks the beginning of the ceremony. The tent is called tjinan^{n}w^{u} ("prairie-chicken lodge"); and the participants, "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-chicken women." The pledger brings his buffalo-skin to this lodge. He incenses it four times.

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 152.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

175 disappearance of the buffalo, the population was officially recorded
161 as being 970. By 1895 it had been reduced to 596.[10] At this low
ebb, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was still a
● [554] strong feeling among the Gros Ventres against the white man's
dress; as of old, a man's wealth and standing still was measured
[178] by the number of horses he owned. Nevertheless the ceremonial
aspects of their culture, already on the wane before that decade,
had practically disappeared.

[10] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1883-1915, pp. 101, 188.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

621 114 The Boy, ventured the following tentative indentification, saying that these may have been earlier names respectively for Same As Assiniboine, Upper Quarters, Water Horses, Night Hawks, Coffees, Frozens. A few informants had heard of Breech Cloths and Weasel Skin Headdresses as band names but didn't know which modern bands they might have been, always assuming that the number of bands had been twelve.

361 621 114 As to the exact order of the bands in the camp circle, there was no real agreement. The order given by Singer and Coming Daylight differs from that given by Kroeber. Furthermore, while the two old women were emphatic that the places within the camp circle were permanent—"otherwise we could not remember all this!"—some of the men informants were under the impression that the band from which a new Flat Pipe Keeper was chosen moved to the center position opposite the opening of the camp circle, and that the others shifted accordingly.

361 621 In any case, the circle, with opening toward the rising sun, was the formation employed when the whole tribe was together. When bands were separated from the main group they might or might not camp in this way, depending somewhat on the length of time they expected to remain in one spot, and on the nature of the terrain. Sometimes, for instance, the lodges of the various families of the band were strung out along a watercourse.

According to The Boy, there was a tendency for bands which camped in proximity within the big camp circle to go off together when the tribe split up. The Upper Quarters and Frozens were often together and, along with them, the Same As Assiniboine or occasionally the Greys (proper) and Buffalo Overloaded, usually staying more or less in the vicinity of the Milk River, the center of the territory claimed by the Gros Ventres. Whereas the Tendons, followed by the Poor Greys and Bad Plenty, moved for winter quarters to the country bounded by the Big Sandy, the Marias River (at Ft. Benton), and the Bear Paws; while the Fast Travelers as a rule sought out the country south of the Missouri toward the Yellowstone River and Crow country, accompanied by perhaps the Coffees. Water Horses and Bloods were friendly with each other and joined now one group and now another.

554 621 A band which was thus followed by two or three others had

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

added prestige. Those mentioned as leading bands above were seemingly the most numerous and most prominent in the recent past, and their representatives are more numerous at the present time. While the Frozens, Upper Quarters and Bad Plenty have the most living descendants, apparently there are no Poor Greys or Coffees today, only one Night Hawk, and a few each of the others.

Although Coming Daylight and Singer claimed membership in the Frozen band, they had no false modesty in proclaiming: "The Frozens were the best workers, had the biggest lodges, the prettiest women and the best-looking men. In fact they were the 'aristocratic' families, being the best-dressed and having the most horses." This was confirmed voluntarily by Cora who stated that she belonged to the Same As Assiniboines, but had heard all her life that the Frozens were the most distinguished band along the lines the old women mentioned. The men informants admitted that some bands were considered better in some respects than others, but failed to be more specific, and added that regardless of the reputation of the whole band, an individual man had to make his own way.

It is somewhat difficult to arrive at the exact situation as to band affiliation and exogamy inasmuch as the band ceased to function not long after our oldest male informants were born. Our oldest female informants, whose memory includes the 1860's, stated in regard to this individual or that, whom they mentioned, that they could not remember to which band he had belonged. In fact the old women became quite impatient when questioned on this subject since from their point of view it was not important. To them the question of marriage regulations was a practical one of avoiding as mate any person to whom blood relationship could be traced, no matter how remotely, and any affinal relative not of the same generation.

There was general agreement among all informants, however, that under normal circumstances children were of the same band as their father.[1] Nevertheless, residence was an important factor, and not a few persons claimed affiliation with bands other than those into which they had been born. Coming Daylight, for instance, said she was a Frozen, the band to which her mother had

[1] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 147.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

323 were made. Several days later he reported that he had asked around about how pots were made, and some old-timers said that they braided sinew to the shape of pot they wished; heated white flint and pulverized it, and mixed with the blue clay from around the neighborhood of Hays. This mixture was about 6 per cent pulverized flint. The clay and pulverized rock were mixed in a mortar, pasted over the woven sinew, and baked. "It gets so hard you can't break it." Tom Bad Road, now (1948) about 70 years old told Mary Ereaux that once when he was a young boy he saw an old, old woman making a pot of "sand." The pot had dried hard, but some young fellows used it as a target for throwing stones and broke it to pieces.

554 513 595 The place of honor was at the back of the lodge, opposite the door. Here at night slept the "man of the house" and his senior wife, if he were a polygynist, the other wives and children on either side. Coming Daylight described the arrangement of her father's lodge as it was before she was sent to live with her grandmother. Her father and one wife slept at the rear, the bedding placed parallel to the door; she and her mother had their bedding to the left as one entered the lodge, and perpendicular in regard to the opening, sleeping with their heads to the rear and feet to the door; while her father's unmarried brothers were similarly placed as she and her mother, but on the opposite side of the lodge.

484 492 When on the move, the women were in charge of the children and impedimenta and usually traveled in a group considerably behind the men. Horses or dogs were used to draw the travois, and sometimes younger children or the sick and disabled were carried thereon. Mae Main remarked that her memory of riding on a horse travois was not a very pleasant one as she was often annoyed by the horse's tail brushing over her. Horses had to be broken to the travois and a horse owned by a man would never be so used. The horse can draw a far heavier load than a dog, but seemingly the Gros Ventres at no time had so many horses that the dog could be dispensed with altogether and the dog travois survived until very recently. At such times that horses for one reason or another were scarce, the people would be forced to cache a great deal of their surplus and to cut their lodges in half so the load would not be too great for a dog to draw.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The above case illustrates how it was possible for a man, in spite of a poor start in life, to rise. Children were instructed by their elders, as was Thick by his maternal uncle: "Above all things try to have horses. Try to have property and whatever you have, take care of it. By having lots of horses and property, people will respect you and look upon you as somebody." 556 867

Again Coming Daylight stated: "They used to think more of horses than of anything else. They were sure proud of owning a pinto pony. In telling stories when they wanted to describe the best they could think of they would say: 'You should have seen her horse—it was a big pinto pony.'" And in telling of a relative of hers, Woman Chief, Coming Daylight said: "Her husband was not very handsome, but they were well-to-do and she always rode top horses." 554 231

While all horses were as a rule well cared for, special attention was devoted to the buffalo horses. On the hunt, for instance, these horses would be led along unburdened by pack or rider to keep them fresh. They were ridden only for the actual chase and after the kill were turned loose to roll around and graze like young colts. When the butchering was completed the meat was packed on other horses and the swift buffalo horses were then led home again. These horses were ridden on social and ceremonial occasions, when their owners wished to show off, and of course the soldier societies were well mounted, but such use amounted to no more than a good work-out, and these valuable horses were never abused nor wilfully exhausted. 231

Children were exhorted to take care of their property, especially of horses, and the girls were advised that "a mare is worth everything—it increases—treat her well." It was stated that some attention was given to breeding. A man might judge that a colt showed possibilities of becoming a fast horse. If it fulfilled the early promise the colts it sired would be watched. The less likely of these would be castrated. Likewise, a good mare would, if possible, be retained by the owner for breeding. A man who owned a particularly good buffalo horse might, on his deathbed, either order that it be killed at his grave or give it to some relative he knew cared well for horses, with instructions never to abuse it nor give it away. [867] [763 768 431]

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

231 721 got scared and ran to the other side of the horse. Finally she took a big stick and threw it at the white thing and still it didn't move so she went closer and found it to be a Hudson's Bay blanket just soaking wet. The enemy must have used it when they crossed the river. So she dragged it home to her lodge. When she got there she called to her grandmother: 'Is he there?' Her grandmother said: 'He is.' She was still furious at her husband and called to him: 'Come out! I am giving you this,' and she said it in the way people speak when they are giving something on return from war. She was giving her husband his own buffalo horse! He however didn't say anything or make any exclamation. This so enraged her that she took the blanket and rolled it up as small as she could and threw it at him, hitting him on the chest saying: 'Here is another thing I brought you!' Then he laughed. But she had at least saved one of the most valuable horses.

[431] "The next morning the rest of the Gros Ventres in the party moved on, leaving this family behind. But fortunately some others came along and seeing their plight gave them horses, for example, Pemmican gave one to Coming Daylight, Little Shields gave her uncle one, and Sleeping Bear gave her husband one."

231 436 The importance of various transactions could be gauged by whether or not a horse were included, other things such as fancy clothing, ornaments, guns, etc. being mentioned as "thrown in."

● [554] A person who gave a horse in whatever connection accrued prestige for himself and at the same time showed in what esteem the donor [583] held the recipient. Horses were generally included in the bride price; in inaugurating the more serious type of enemy-friendship; in payment for services of the medicine man in curing certain types of illness, and in payment to the ceremonial grandfather as well as in payment to the namer or ear-piercer of a child; in settling disputes; in gambling; in gifts to others in honor of relatives, and in meeting certain other kinship obligations.

231 556 Horses could be acquired by a man through raiding the enemy; by gift from relatives and from non-relatives in honor of someone else or in instituting the enemy-friendship; in the bride price of a sister, daughter, or maternal niece; in payment for services rendered; in gambling; through inheritance; in trading with the whites. A woman might share in the bride price of her brother's

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

daughter, and might receive gifts from relatives, but would otherwise have few opportunities of obtaining horses. 231 556

In former times the rules regarding inheritance were fairly simple. If a man died, his relatives took the more valuable livestock, while anyone was free to come into the lodge and take any other personal property of the deceased which was not to be buried with him. The man's relatives would not, however, take the horses which belonged to his wife or wives, or which had been given before his death to his children. When a woman died she usually would have little valuable property in any case, but, again, any other woman might rush in and strip the lodge of whatever personal property might be therein, including food. The close family of the deceased were "so grief-stricken that they wouldn't notice who takes what," and "a husband would never keep anything of his wife's." It was said, too, that "women were braver than men in disposing of their property before death, and often gave gifts of personal property to those they wished to have them." 428 768 [431]

In objects derived from the white man, the value put upon them was mainly utilitarian. For example, in matching wagers on one occasion a man put up a gold watch. There was no one on the other side who had a watch to offer, but a spy-glass was considered the equivalent. It was explained that the value of the watch in dollars—whether it had a fine gold case or not—would not be taken into consideration. The question in matching was to find things of equal value to the Indian in his way of life. To illustrate this The Boy told of a gift to his father, Lame Bull, from a white trader on the Saskatchewan, of a hobble which locked. "Perhaps this didn't have a high value in dollars, but it was considered extremely valuable by Lame Bull because it saved him many a race horse. Even though the enemy might sneak a horse out of camp, being unable to unfasten the hobble, he would have to abandon the valuable horse before getting very far away." 177 435

On the other hand, while utility was certainly an important consideration in the Gros Ventres' evaluation of goods produced by themselves, various other elements were taken into account. A horse procured from the enemy was perhaps the most valuable of all things to the Gros Ventres; aside from other considerations, a man would have risked his life to obtain it and that in itself lent 435 554 231

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

value. Thus any object captured from the enemy, no matter how trivial it might be, was more valuable than a duplicate of that same thing obtained in any other way, and could be used to initiate an enemy-friendship, one of the most important of Gros Ventre transactions. A man who gave a horse, rather than or in addition to other items—to establish the enemy-friendship, to pay for the curing of a relative, to someone in honor of his relative, to his ceremonial grandfather for guiding him through the Sacred Dance, to wager in gambling, to show how much he thought of his brother-in-law in return for so simple a gift as the flesh of a puppy—would gain in prestige, for he thus established for himself a reputation for "being somebody."

The amount of labor that went into the making of an object, such as the polished deer-hoof trimming on a robe, was an element in its value. When the robe was old and worn the recipient thereof would remove the fringe and return to the donor "so she could use them again." Scarcity, too, entered into evaluation of goods. Eagle feathers were, for instance, more valuable than other kinds of feathers. Again, as to elk teeth, it was explained: "The elk has only two teeth that are like ivory,[11] and so it takes a long time to accumulate them. They are to us Gros Ventres like pearls are to the whites. They were our greatest decoration. They are valuable even today, and, while imitations are sometimes used, you can always tell the difference."

Exchange and Distribution

There was actually no need for economic exchange within the tribe, with the object of obtaining the necessities of life, but a need had developed for exchange with the fur traders to obtain guns, whiskey, metal objects—kettles, scraper-blades, etc.—cloth, tobacco, beads, paints, and so on. After about 1830, the medium of exchange with traders was the buffalo robe, which rapidly increased in value at the expense of beaver.[12] Traders on the Missouri accepted other items produced by the Indians, but everything was equated in terms of robes.[13]

[11] These are the rudimentary canines. Cf. Seton, v. 3, p. 5.

[12] Bradley, pp. 203–04.

[13] According to Denig, p. 421, an Assiniboine chief on Jan. 8, 1852, was

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

439 wives had vowed to cover a Pipe, undoubtedly he would try to include in his purchases the requisite length of black cloth. Individuals of course differed. In view of their labor, the wives would expect to share in the return therefor which the husband was able to secure from the trader, but this expectation was not always met.[17]

The items thus obtained were consumed by the Gros Ventres in the same ways as those goods of their own manufacture—some being directly consumed, some entering into further production, and some being exchanged on the principle of gifts and of payments for services, and in gambling.

554 A man would accumulate a surplus only to expend it as
431 generously as possible in order to attain prestige. The person with
439 a reputation for generosity rose in public esteem, and was in turn the recipient of many gifts, whereas the man with only one horse and only one wife could not afford to meet the demands for hospitality and for generosity in other transactions, and thus could not profit by the system of indirect and deferred exchange.

262 Sharing of food was an important element in attaining prestige
574 through generosity. A person known to be stingy with food would
554 lack status. The ideal was often preached to children embodied in
867 such statements as the following: "If you have visitors, even though you don't have much food, give the last of it to them."

574 Should a male visitor drop in unexpectedly, the first thing a man did was to tell his wife to cook and she was expected to comply. How seriously this was regarded may be seen from the following case told by Singer: "One time my husband, Iron Bucket, went with a friend to visit the latter's brother. The sister-in-law was naturally a stingy woman and made no move to feed them. Her husband was sitting there fixing arrows and he told her: 'Hurry and cook. If you have nothing, ask for meat at one of the lodges.' This woman had a big shaggy head and sat there with her head bowed and her husband couldn't make her move. After a while, however, some meat was brought in from hunting, and this woman went out, got it and threw it down hard inside her lodge. She was mad. And instead of giving them in a nice way the manifolds and liver that they ordinarily eat first, she slung

[17] For a case in point, see p. 178.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

574 your arm because they always get after me if I feed any one.' So as I was going along the other two wives were coming back with the wood and saw me. They asked this third wife what I had wanted and she said: 'She came here to beg.' They asked her: 'Did you feed her?' and when she said no, the other two scolded her saying: 'You should have fed her at least a little bit' and continued to bawl her out for being so stingy."

While not all individuals lived up to the standard of casual hospitality, the majority seemingly did so, and business negotiations were usually transacted while visiting.[18] The individual who [554] dispensed food liberally could expect a return from others, although not necessarily the ones whom he had fed. Furthermore, if a man wished to sustain a good reputation he was expected to entertain well. It was customary, therefore, when fresh meat had been brought in for a man to tell his wife to cook and then he called out: "So-and-so, come and smoke!" to as many as he wished to [554] invite. When the guests arrived he greeted each and assigned him to a place in the lodge, the most honored guests being seated in the back opposite the opening. After the guests had eaten, the host filled the pipe from a plentiful supply of "mixture," and the smoking continued until the host gave the sign for dispersal by knocking [276] the ashes from the pipe.

553 574 On more formal occasions, such as a naming feast, the host would ask some older man with a strong voice to act as announcer, and in such case the latter would call out by name each guest and say who was inviting him. Ordinarily a man would invite his own age group, his close friends, but it was not customary for the wives of the guests to come. If a woman wished to invite others, she would go to the various lodges and invite them personally. In this type of planned hospitality there was more in the nature of direct exchange although it might be considerably deferred.

574 431 In addition to hospitality, ostentatious liberality accomplished circulation of goods within the tribe. From the Gros Ventre point of view: "Presents were usually given with the intention of doing good and if no return were made, nothing was said or done. But often it turned out that at some later time the recipient would say

[18] Cf. Denig, pp. 514–15.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

574
to himself: 'He gave to me, so I'll give to him.' But no one was 431
in duty bound to give the equivalent in return."

Within the network of kinship obligations, exchange was more 602
often indirect than reciprocal. A man could expect help from his 431
father and from his mother's brother without being under obligation to return goods in like amount—he was supposed to repay them by conducting himself in such a way that they could be proud of him. This meant that the man in his turn would be especially generous toward his sister and her children, that he would adequately fulfill his duties toward his wife's people and provide goods in sufficient amount that his wife could fulfill her own obligations especially those toward her own brother's wife and children.

When others saw fit to honor an individual, say for bravery in 554
warfare, that person was supposed to give away goods in large 431
amounts to show that he appreciated the honor; and his relatives would join with him in giving, thereby increasing his, as well as their own, prestige. Likewise in paying for services, such as those [602]
of a medicine man, relatives would "chip in" to the best of their ability, the one assuming the largest part of the burden receiving the greatest boost in public esteem. A person who impoverished himself by giving generously at such times would be sure that, with his reputation thus established, he would soon be the recipient of gifts dispensed by others in like liberality. Meantime, however, he could not afford to sit back awaiting the presents from others. He would soon lose his coveted reputation and be referred to as [461]
lazy, an epithet strong enough to bring tears to the eyes of a man who entertained any ambitions whatsoever.

If a person were in need, it was possible for him to request 426
what was necessary, preferably from some relative who was well- 558
to-do, and usually his request would be met. But a continual borrower lost status and a limit was thus put upon indiscriminate "begging." One woman stated: "If your sister asked you for something you would not refuse her, but it was to your brother's wife you would give things voluntarily. A woman had great pride in keeping her brother's wife well-dressed, and if you had an [607]
extra supply of dried berries she is the one you would think of first."

Thus we have the basis for the generalizations the Gros Ventres 431

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

CHAPTER V

WAR AND PRESTIGE

Organization and Conduct of the Party

721 554 Recognition was granted for any accomplishment that involved risk of life at the hands of the enemy. The constantly recurring attacks upon the Gros Ventres by one neighboring tribe or another offered many opportunities for the display of bravery, but those who joined in taking the initiative against the enemy had the greatest chances of accumulating impressive war records. Consequently parties set out at frequent intervals with the avowed purpose either of stealing horses or of avenging loss of Gros Ventre life.

721 Although it was not uncommon for two or three men to go off quietly together when raiding for horses, if a larger number was involved, some formalities were observed. The man who decided to lead a war party had his intention publicly announced around the camp circle by a crier and any who wished might volunteer to join him. A young man, untried in war, would hardly set himself up as leader in this way, but would be anxious to follow someone whose reputation for bravery was already well established.[1]

533 721 [782] Ordinarily, when the group was composed of ten or more men, there were some preliminaries the night before the party set off. The members gathered and sang in front of lodges of those they hoped would be able to help them. Each man so selected at least prayed for the success of the party as he gave them a smoke and fed them. In addition, if he had ammunition or clothing or something of the kind that would be useful on the expedition, he donated these to the party. It was said that an occasional man would "be so pleased with what the party was about to do" that he sent his wife out to sing with them. Thus the party sang around the camp circle in front of various lodges and, after agreeing on

[1] Sometimes young men were restless and sang around the camp circle to indicate their willingness to go on a raid if someone would lead them. Such a song was recorded as No. 70.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

727 ganize a revenge party. The Boy gave the following account of the circumstances under which one such party was announced and carried out. "The brother of Lame Bull's mother had been killed in war by the Piegan. This woman took it very hard because it 726 was her youngest brother of whom she was particularly fond. 787 None of her relatives had taken any action and she was out on the 727 hills mourning. While she was out there she fell asleep and an 'old man' appeared to her and said: 'If you make an effort, you will forget your grief. I will teach you a song that you will use when they dance at the victory celebration after your people have avenged his death. This song will be used when they bring back the scalps of the enemies who have killed your brother.' So she went home but didn't say anything about her experience for some time. Finally, however, she told her husband. He then decided to organize a war party to get revenge for his brother-in-law's death. He had a big following as he went against the Piegan. On the way, however, they came across some Blood Indians and killed five of them, which was considered as fulfilling his duty to bring backs scalps in retaliation. When the party returned, the woman of course joined in the victory dance and sang that song, which was then used many times after that when the Gros Ventres were successful."

726 If no prominent relative led the revenge party, the parents of a 727 man killed in war could request some noted chief to do so. In that case the one selected prayed for the success of the party himself and made a sweatlodge, inviting many old men who would likewise pray. The large number of offerings requisite for the occasion were supplied, however, by the man who had made the request. Should he not have the wherewithal to formally approach a prominent warrior, there was still the possibility that revenge might be volunteered by someone who pitied parents as they grieved for their son. This would afford an opportunity for some lesser man to legitimately set himself up as leader of a raiding party for the first time.

Status Through War-Deeds

554 Any action that involved risk of life at the hands of the enemy was counted as a war-deed. Raiding for horses, especially for

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

those which were valuable enough to be tethered near lodges at night, was considered practically on a par with killing, scalping and counting coups. Capturing weapons and other trophies, as well as taking women and children prisoner, were likewise deserving of praise. Helping fellow-tribesmen in danger and many other types of action such as successful scouting for a war party, or acting as water-carrier under dangerous circumstances, were taken into account in assessing the war record of the individual.

An ambitious man grasped every opportunity for distinguishing himself in as many of these ways as possible, for prestige depended primarily on a reputation for bravery, and competition between warriors was keen.[23] The ideal man was one who had so many war-deeds to his credit that "his wrist would be made slim from being pulled up to recite them." So great was the variety of circumstances under which a recitation of war-deeds was required, that a man who had accomplished little was of necessity ignored and doomed to remain a nonentity.

Furthermore there were many occasions on which those who had given a good account of themselves in battle were singled out for public recognition. During the victory dance, for instance, a warrior, who had remained at home, chose one of the returning party to whom he would offer a ceremonial smoke while singing his praises. Again, the relatives of a man who had behaved with particular heroism might decide to formally bestow a new name upon him. In such a case, a group of men and women would approach the lodge where the naming ceremony was held, calling attention to the hero by loudly singing there. To show his appreciation of the honor the hero gave valuable presents to the singers. If a group approached a second time, the honor was doubled and so were the presents. In illustration, the story was told of a woman who was on one occasion so outstandingly brave during battle that she was accorded the same honor a man would have been under the same circumstances,—she was given a new name, that of Woman Chief, and her praises were sung by three groups. Moreover, it was customary at the social dances of the Stars and of the Wolf-men, to compose songs referring to specific deeds of their members respectively, and to sing these over and over again.

[23] For this and other aspects of status, see also pp. 32-33.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

553 father had given him his own name, "Bear Teeth"; and in that of Ragged Robe's wife who gave her name to a little girl. In this latter case, at least, the woman continued using her own name.

Except in those cases where the name of a relative is given, as is seemingly the rule nowadays, the name must have some specific relation to either the war deeds or the medicine powers of the namer. Singer remarked that one time, when she had been very lucky in locating some weapons abandoned by the enemy, she was looking forward very much to naming a little relative "Finder" in connection with this exploit. Unfortunately, however, the child's father had already had a name for her so Singer was disappointed. A Pipe-Keeper, too, might name a child from something connected with the Pipe. Rufus Warrior, for instance, was named from the rawhide with which the Flat Pipe is wrapped; another child was called "Red Woman" from the fact that the wife of the Flat Pipe Keeper was always painted red,—even her hair. Al Chandler knows of two people his grandfather had named from objects in the Feather Pipe bundle.

The more formal the occasion, the more expensive the naming was for the family involved. If, for instance, advantage was taken of a public ceremony, not only was the one who gave the name recompensed by a valuable gift, such as a horse, but many other gifts would be given to various persons in the audience in order to honor the recipient of the name and to give prestige to his family. The expense was particularly heavy when a name was publicly bestowed upon an adult in recognition of bravery at war.[11]

[431 727] 554

551 Nearly everyone had a nickname. One of the most common was, and is, simply "Girl" or "Boy." Such a nickname often was acquired in early childhood because the name which had been bestowed was not liked,—and those names given through medicine often fell in that category. Coming Daylight said that she had not cared for the name given by a medicine man to her first-born son, so she had called him "Boy." The child died very young, and she now wonders if he would have lived longer had they used his real name. Nicknames may be acquired at any time of life and sometimes they are far from complimentary, especially those bestowed later in life by enemy-friends. If the nickname "takes" there is

[11] Cf. Chapter 5, p. 101.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

made up my mind that I did not want such power, the immediate reason for my refusal being that I had seen doctors who swallowed what they had sucked from the weak spot in patients whom they cured, and I just couldn't bring myself to have to do likewise."

Although boys had much more freedom than had girls, they too were assigned tasks at a fairly early age. One of the responsibilities of boys was to water the horses during the day. At about the age of fourteen, however, a boy would be required to take the horses out to graze immediately after taking his morning plunge. He would be gone perhaps three or four hours and would eat only after he returned.

The play of younger boys with bow and arrow was training for later life. The older boys accompanied the men on hunting parties and by the time they were about 18 most were skilled hunters. Some families, it was said, took advantage of the fact that a boy would have killed his first big game,—antelope, deer, buffalo, —by making a feast at which this game was served. On such an occasion the boy stood at the center and gave away property, such as horses and blankets provided by his father or uncle, in order to mark the event. This was considered training for the way he should behave in later life in regard to his own property.

Boys were trained in trapping as well as hunting. There were certain songs which were sung by grandparents as the boys danced around in the lodge both before and after trapping. These songs were supposed to bring luck in finding game.

Sometimes when older boys were out taking care of horses, they would band together, daub their faces and bodies with mud as "war paint," and make a "raid" on the camp in order to steal meat which was drying on racks. The women who had worked so hard to prepare the meat got angry and sometimes fought the boys with sticks. Usually, the boys were successful, and would then cook the meat and have a wonderful feast,[1] far outside the camp circle.

Men encouraged their sons to be brave, and a boy would be anxious to go along on a real raiding party just as soon as possible because a young man had no standing until he had risked his life. An adolescent boy who accompanied a war party had to be a man

[1] This type of raiding is also described by Kroeber, 1908, p. 182.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

least one horse was included, but no given amount of property was specified nor did bargaining enter into the negotiations.[6] Following the pattern of ostentatious liberality, a man could reflect honor upon himself by giving generously, and one with such a reputation was preferred over a poor or stingy one. Whatever the groom offered was divided among the bride's relatives. As one woman said: "A husband always gave something for his wife, no matter how many wives he acquired, because this is what makes it 'legal.' Then the girl's father and brother divided the presents. If the brother arranged the marriage, he would say to the father 'Here is a horse for you.' And if the father or uncle had been approached by the husband, then they did the same way. Sometimes even the father's sister was given a horse or something else when her niece married."

Although it was not obligatory, a bride's family often provided her with goods to take to her marriage, especially if it were her first one. Singer explained in regard to Coming Daylight: "Her family was well-to-do and showed how much they thought of themselves by giving her a good send-off. You should have seen her going off to her first husband. She was only about ten years old and she looked so tiny leading that big horse. On the horse was a fine fringed saddle and the travois was just piled up with painted parfleshes and other things."

The following account of the marriage of Coming Daylight's daughter shows how the pattern was carried out under changed conditions: "One night when the family returned from a dance they found a letter addressed to the oldest son, Ed, from a man whom he liked, asking for Ed's sister, Gertrude. When his father came in from tending the horses they told him about the proposal and he agreed right away, saying: 'We are still keeping her and she is a big girl. I'm glad this offer has been made.' So a week later they loaded a new buggy with Gertrude's things,—bedding, beds, trunk, sewing machine, etc.,—and her father drove this to the creek where the dance hall was located. Meanwhile Coming Daylight took her daughter to the house of the man who had asked for her and left her there sitting on this man's bed. The groom did not appear at the Grass Dance that evening, even though he

[6] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 180.

684 ing indemnity from his wife's lover and allowing her unharmed to go to him. This solution was often resorted to and in fact was the one that was urged upon both parties concerned. It was customary for the paramour to offer compensation, although an occasional individual tried to dispose of an unwanted wife with profit to himself by taking the initiative in demanding indemnity. If there were no real evidence of wrong-doing, or if the man in question wished to brave the consequences, he might refuse. One instance was given by Singer concerning a man who, returning home one night, saw a young man crouched beside the lodge. "Although he took after the young man when he ran away, he could not catch him. The next day he told one of his wives—the sister of the one whom he pretended to suspect—to take her younger sister to the young man and demand in return a gun and a horse. The elder sister took up for the younger one and refused. So the husband told his oldest wife, unrelated to the other two, to carry out his orders. This one did as she was told. When confronted by the demand, however, the young man said: 'There is no truth in it. The old man did see something that made it look bad for me, but it wasn't what he thought.' The husband did not care to force the issue, since real evidence was lacking, and that was an end to the matter." Another example shows that even when the husband had evidence of his wife's infidelity he could not always collect indemnity. The husband in question sent his wife to her lover with a long list of things which he requested in return. The paramour, who did not want the woman as his wife, refused to pay the indemnity. "Perhaps another man would have killed his wife's lover when he refused, but this one took the easier [682] way by cutting off his wife's hair and turning her loose." In case the husband killed the paramour, it was interpreted as murder and he was subject to retaliation.

● [554] A man who kept as wife a woman known to be unfaithful to him lost status. He would be considered weak and was subject to 684 humiliating taunts by his enemy-friends. Nevertheless some men 558 braved adverse public opinion out of deep affection for their erring wives. While not all went so far as Sits Like A Woman, his case is an interesting one. It was related by The Boy as follows.

"The famous chief Sits Like A Woman was at the height of

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

on a given night after everybody was asleep lest the matter became known and the prospective electee take flight. When a rumor would spread that a new election was imminent, those who thought they might be elected used commonly to go away and sleep elsewhere than in their own lodges, as almost all were reluctant to become keepers. Those invited to the election meeting had to keep absolute secrecy beforehand, and at the meeting itself no one else than the keeper and co-keeper and the above invitees was present except two attendants, sons of keepers or ex-keepers.

The actual keeper might open the discussion by proposing a name. Discussion was free but dignified. Agreement would be finally reached, perhaps well after midnight or towards morning, on the keeper's first choice or on some other man. Knowing how onerous the keepership was, the keeper out of the regard for the ex-keepers would not be apt to nominate one of their sons, and ordinarily did not nominate one of his own.

The proposed keeper had to be a prominent member of the tribe, a man of great ability and renown, with a record of recognized achievement and with very considerable wealth in horses, in the size and furnishings of his lodge, and so forth. He had to be of the cream of the tribe, or "the best among many." And he had "to be good" as the Gros Ventre ethical code conceived goodness. He had to be generous; a stingy man, even though a great warrior, and even though he had vowed to become keeper, would never get the Pipe, for the keeper had to feed people and to be good to them and have pity on them. A murderer of a fellow tribesman could not become keeper, nor could a "professional" gambler, that is, one who is known to have supernatural gambling power. In general one guilty of grave crime such as rape or theft from fellow tribesman, or of habitual marked moral delinquency or defect, such as lying, backbiting, felony, disbelief in or disrespect for holy things, was barred from the keepership as he was barred from rising high in the prestige scale.

After the choice was finally decided upon, the whole party with others of their kin proceeded secretively before or toward daybreak to the lodge of the electee to seize him bodily by surprise before he could escape. Once seized or even only elected he had practically

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

*796 hand hidden fresh kidney, with the fat on, under their dresses would on being struck fall over, "killed," and the "hunters" would pretend to cut open the dead "cows" and extract the kidney fat. The "bull," too, would be shot down with blunt arrows and "butchered," the kidney extracted first and a bit of it (and presumably of the fat taken from the "cows") offered to each person present and eaten.

The "cows," "bull" and "calves" made their way quickly back to the dance lodge, in a mimic stampede. After re-entering, the "cows" kept walking round and round the center pole, "puffing and puffing" as if winded,—representing, we may reasonably infer, buffalo milling around in a corral at the end of a drive. After a while they all sat down and partook of a good feast, and after the feast was over danced.

*796 272 554 It was apparently at the time of this terminal feast (possibly at some other time or times in the four-day rite,—our information is not quite clear on the point) that prominent men would come into the dance lodge for a drink of "berry water." Near the center pole was a big wooden bowl containing berries crushed to a juice "something like syrup fixed real sweet," and having a cup attached. Prominent men, "all the great big chiefs," "only big men, warriors," were invited to come in and take a drink. "They did not come in any old way. They would come in nice through the door, to the left side, drink, and then go out around the right side." They had to leave something as pay, such as a bridle, a rifle, or a horse, "because it was a great honor to be invited to drink." During this drinking by the "chiefs," the "bull" had to sit in her place silently with her horned headdress on and her head hanging down. Coming Daylight, at this juncture in one of the dances in which she was a "calf," remarked to her grandmother: "Well, that 'bull' does not even move. She just sits there." Her grandmother admonished her: "Don't say that. You are not supposed to 'tease' about it." "Well," Coming Daylight said, "'he' pushed me away when I went to my 'mother.'" After the whole dance was over, Coming Daylight used to tell all about it, but her grandmother would caution her: "Don't talk about it. You are not supposed to laugh over it."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

or social compulsion to seek power, and was subject to no penalty if he refused it when offered to him by supernatural beings or by fellow-tribesmen. In fact, a certain amount of social pressure was brought to bear upon him to avoid and refuse it. Each individual had to make his own free choice, weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, the profit against the cost. The decision to seek or refrain from seeking, to accept when offered or to refuse, was entirely up to him.

We have listed the disadvantages, the cost. What were the advantages, the profit? Chiefly prestige, material gains or wealth, and sex favors, depending on the type of power sought or accepted. The great warrior and the great doctor who attained eminence through power both enjoyed high prestige. Which of the two, warrior or doctor, ranked higher is hard to say. Both had very high standing and both were deeply respected. The Boy and Coming Daylight inclined to rank the great warrior a bit higher than the great doctor. In The Boy's word, "both had high standing, each in his own field. The warrior perhaps rated higher. The medicine man had standing, but only on certain occasions was he thought of. But a renowned warrior had the admiration of the tribe because he had risked his life and was a strategist and by his own efforts." According to Coming Daylight "it was the greatest thing to be a warrior and look for the enemy." Al Chandler leaned more to the view that "if a man was honest about his medicine,—so many times they [medicine men] faked and tried to got everything a person owned,—and was known to be honest, he was respected to the same degree as a warrior." All informants were however fully agreed that both warriors and doctors ranked high. Doctors who had power to kill and who were suspected of using it were more feared than respected. Men who had gambling powers ranked far below warriors and doctors in the prestige scale. Of one the most famous recent Gros Ventre possessors of gambling power The Boy remarked: "He was just a little fellow. He was just a gambler," and a man known to have gambler power could not be selected to the high office of Pipe-keeper. Likewise those who had love power were usually rather chary of advertising widely the fact as well as the source of their power.

Power thus in varying degrees conferred prestige, a much sought

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

after good in Gros Ventre competitive life. Most types of power,— and not only power to acquire wealth directly,—brought material rewards. War raids had largely the purpose of acquiring horses, the main Gros Ventre wealth in earlier days, from the enemy.[1] Doctoring brought the practitioner large emoluments; gambling power netted the owner rich winnings. Love power, in addition to securing sex favors for its possessor, could also be a source of good profit through transfer by sale to others. Wealth among the Gros Ventres gave prestige on its own account as well as material ease and security. Further, wealth was inextricably tied up with prestige as goals sought through military, medicinal, gambling and love powers.

These were the chief advantages and profit or power which the individual had to weight against the disadvantages and cost thereof.

Many individuals, in view of the cost, neither sought nor accepted power, as we have seen.

Many others, however, men and women and even some young boys and girls, sought or accepted power, and such power was by no means confined to professional medicine men but was widely distributed among the laity. A few, but very few, children had power: the several cases recorded will be given later. But many women as well as men acquired it; what exact proportion of whole adult population is hard to say. The Boy, Thick concurring, stated: "Only a few men and women had ancestral helpers, but it was the usual thing for grownups, men and women, to have some kind of power." On another occasion, they said: "Not everyone tried to get power [by fasting on mountains] but only certain individuals. For instance, of three men only one might try, the other two might not care to try." On still another occasion, The Boy remarked: "Not all who slept on mountains got power. Lots got nothing; they didn't even dream. Only a few got power from such a quest. Some tried over and over again but never got anything. A man might spend five to seven days on the mountains and yet not even dream. If, say 30 or 40 slept on the mountains, only three or four of them might get power. Only a few Gros

[1] For discussion of Gros Ventres concept of wealth, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 73-79.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

525 some object connected with the deed, which was of the same color as the bead
789 he was touching.

This thought-wish was a sort of indirect or implicit oath, not a formal audibly uttered one. If he actually had done no such deed, he could not hope to have good fortune from such intense concentration of thought and wish. But it was not a prayer proper; he was not asking anything directly of any being. The act was called beta´c"et". It may be added here parenthetically that a highly abstract concept of effective power from deeply sincere wish or intense thought or from both combined plays an important part in many phases of Gros Ventre life even today.

While the player was making this silent wish, the spectators would speculate a lot about which of his great war deeds he was thinking. Later the winner would recite publicly the great deed he had been thinking about. In doing so he had to keep scrupulously to the facts, facts well known to the people, for he was looked upon as a man of character and high standing with a reputation gained by merit, sacrifice, and risk of life.

525 If a player were losing, one of his kinsmen, friends, or backers might volunteer to take his place playing, and also (apparently: our field evidence is not fully clear) to use his own war deeds power.

The main gambling at the wheel game was for stakes wagered by the two players themselves, a given piece of property against an equivalent piece for each game of any agreed number, say 10, of counters won. But the spectators, too, often bet on the game, although not so generally, it appears, as they did at the 2-button hand game. The wagers by players or spectators could be small or large. Two given players might keep at play many hours in succession, playing game after game. In some instances the betting between the two players would result in the loss by one of the last bit of his property—horses, blankets, clothing, household utensils, even his lodge itself. A comparatively wealthy man could thus become a "pauper" in a day. Often, too, the relatives of the players would win or lose almost as heavily in backing their respective kinsmen.

554 In some of the big wheel games the "social" stakes were as important as or
525 more important than the property ones, as illustrated in the case of Lame Bull given below. Two prominent men, enemy friends to each other and at the same time rivals for prestige and status in the tribe, would on a given day play the game *à outrance*. The winner's status and prestige would be greatly exalted; the loser's proportionately lowered. A man's whole career of advancement to prominence in the tribe—a basic ambition among Gros Ventre men—could be brought to ruin in a single day's gaming at the wheel game. He might lose not

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

only his property and so have to begin accumulating again from scratch, but might at the same time lose as well his standing in the tribe and become a defeated and disgraced nobody, of a low standing from which it was very difficult to rise in the scale.

The wheel game was not played by women or children, nor apparently by the very young men, but only by fully adult or middle-aged men and older ones, and by only two players at a time. The really big games with large stakes were in most cases, it seems—almost all, according to our informants—played by two "enemy friends" or "war friends." Such enemy friends or war friends were very different from ordinary friends or "true" pledged friends. An "enemy friendship" was a war-related compact entered into in the following manner. A member of a returning war party would give some trophy or booty he had taken from the enemy—e.g., a scalp, or horse, or weapon—to one of his own compatriots of the same or opposite sex, who had little choice but to accept. Acceptance made "enemy friends" or "war friends" of the two. War friends, particularly if unrelated and both males, could go the limit in twitting and insulting each other and in playing practical jokes, even rather outrageous ones, on each other, and the victim had to take such behavior in good part, at least externally. However, along with the privilege of taking such liberties ran the accepted obligation to stand by each other in real need or hazard of grave nature.

The two war friends could gamble with each other. In fact, gambling among the Gros Ventre reached at times its climax in contests between two war friends. A wheel game between war friends commonly arose out of a "bragging match" between them; one would challenge the other to play the wheel game. If the one challenged declined to accept the challenge, his war friend who challenged him, and his other war friends, would ever after take occasion to deride him publicly for it at the least provocation. So the challenge could not easily be declined. The game often became one in which each enemy friend would go out to strip the other of practically everything he owned—horses, gun, blankets, lodge—and at which the most eager interest was aroused among the relatives, fellow-clansmen, and friends of the respective players and, for that matter, among the whole camp population. Such enemy-friend contests were commonly protracted sessions, often all-day ones, at the wheel game.

The following three narratives of particular wheel-game gambling contests—the first two of which are matters of well-remembered recent history, the third an older traditional story paralleled elsewhere on the Plains—throw some further light on the social role of the Gros Ventre wheel game.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

of the society. The officers were free to transfer their ceremonial equipment to other members whom they would select. Following the typical Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of ownership, the recipient would present as lavish gifts as he could afford to the donor while the relatives of the recipient showed their appreciation of the favor to their kinsman by giving away expensive gifts in his honor. All of this took place publicly at the dance.

Particular dances and songs were attached to each office and the owners of the ceremonial drumsticks were required to know in correct order all the numerous songs and to provide the musical accompaniment for the whole ceremony. These four drumstick owners were joined in certain of the songs by four women singers selected from among the wives of the Wolf-men. The owners of the various objects were responsible for the proper care thereof, the crow-belts and the drum receiving most respect. When not in use, the crow-belts were kept wrapped in special bundles in the lodges of their respective owners, but were hung outside when the owner's wife was in her menstrual period. Moreover, those who danced wearing the crow-belts were obliged to refrain from sexual relations for two or three days previous to the dancing and, before donning the belts, to make a smudge of sweet-grass to incense themselves and the crow-belts. The drum, too, received special attention. One informant speaks of it as having been "nicely decorated," and we know from Kroeber's description[9] that the trimming was very similar to that of the Assiniboine Grass dance drum.[10]

Procedure. The actual dancing took place in a special circular dancing-place in the center of the camp circle. This "corral," as it was sometimes referred to, was constructed from several lodge covers, but was open at the top and the entrance thereto was at the east. The tipi of the drum-keeper was put up nearby. Opposite the opening of the "corral" was the place of honor where sat the officials,—with the exception of the sword owners, who with their assistants were at either side of the entrance. The

[9] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

[10] Lowie, R. H., The Assiniboine, AMNH-AP 4, pt. 1, 1909, p. 67.

rections around the circle. It was understood that if any woman had not risen to dance by the time those holding whips reached her, she would be lashed. These four women had the additional duty of helping serve when it was time for the general feast.

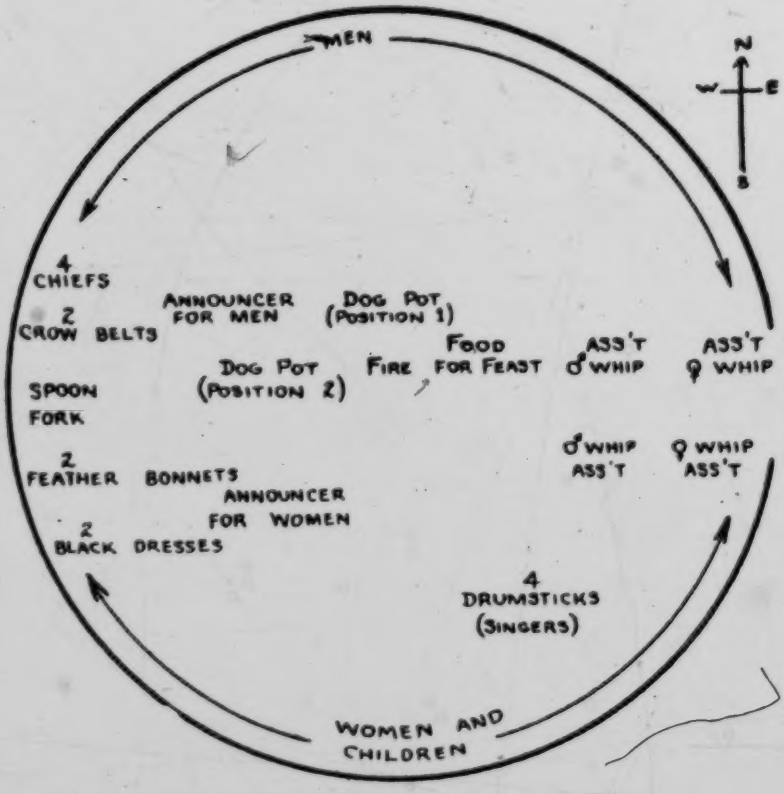

Fig. 1. Diagram of Dance Ground.

Considered as next in rank to the four "chiefs" were the four male singers, who, as in former times, owned the special drumsticks "decorated and official-looking, like emblems." They were expected to know faultlessly all of the many songs connected with the Grass dance as first adopted. If they should, for instance,

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The addition of the four "chiefs" of the Grass dance gave scope for public recognition of the middle-aged men of substance esteemed for their wisdom and judgment to whom office-holding proportionate for their dignity was otherwise denied. Although there was no longer opportunity for the ranks of warriors to swell, those who had in the past performed brave deeds could still gain status by being called upon to publicly recount them at the ceremonial eating of dog flesh and by being selected to handle the feathered bonnets.

As the younger men had no chance to show their prowess in warfare and hunting, there was a change of emphasis to recognition of superior singing and dancing ability as one of the roads to public approval. This latter was brought out clearly by our informants when explaining the qualifications of those sought for the various officers of the Grass dance as it was performed around the turn of the century.

They stated that much of the success of the performance of the Grass dance depended particularly on the singers of the dog ritual songs. The four singers who owned the ceremonial drumsticks were chosen for their good voices and from among the "lively men who liked to do things." The candidates did not have to know the songs in advance because they could be trained. Two noted teachers were The Boy and Joe Big Beaver. The Boy said he used to "campaign against himself" when it was time for a drumstick to be transferred because "he didn't want to get tied down. He enjoyed dancing and the singers never got a chance to participate." Our informants told us of two men who are remembered especially as being outstanding singers and drummers, Ed Rider and Breath. The latter was described as a top-ranking singer who, so far as they knew, had never been surpassed. They said: "It was something worth listening to when Breath started those Grass dance songs. He had a voice adapted to that kind of singing and his sense of rhythm was superb. He could hold a big crowd of people spellbound. He was a real genius. Many others tried to copy him and learn from him, but none ever succeeded in equalling him. Regardless of his fine voice no one

796 178 555 even acquired his technique for beating the drum, that is, of beginning lightly and then, in an inimitable manner, of increasing the volume. Sometimes the other three singers would let him begin a song and sing it through once just to listen to him. He was left-handed, but he sure could beat the drum! He was a man of whom you could say he had a real personality as far as the Grass dance was concerned but who was not so noticeable outside this one field. He was always deliberate but as soon as he approached the dancing-place he seemed to come alive. He was good at that office in the Grass dance and he knew it. He would sit up at the drum as straight as a lord and never attempted to be inconspicuous as, for instance, by putting his hat down over his eyes. Many of the young fellows who usually didn't join in the dancing and liked to play around on the outside would nevertheless rush from every direction to get to the floor when they saw him coming."

796 While singing had always held an important place in Gros Ventre religious culture, in the past the emphasis had been on the meaning of the song far more than on the quality of the voice and the manner of performing as it was in the Grass dance. Similarly in times gone by what dancing there was in the various rites was more or less perfunctory, whereas in the Grass dance the ownership of the two crow-belts, the fork, the spoon, and the whistle was transferred to those among the younger men who had 554 physical vigor and endurance as well as grace. For these offices "it took a good-looking young man in good physical condition to perform properly."

796 178 562 A still greater innovation was the inclusion of women as officers of the Grass dance. The two ceremonial black dresses were seemingly symbolic of the black paint used in the Victory dance of former years, especially in view of the fact that this was one of the few dances performed by women in the old culture. It should be mentioned, however, that in connection with the Victory dance there had been no formal office nor had the participants therein been under economic obligations. We might hazard the guess that the ownership by women of two of the war-bonnets in

the Grass dance may have seemed appropriate to the Gros Ventres as reminiscent of the feather headdress worn by the participants in the Women's Dance belonging to the series of vowed Sacred Dances. But regardless of the possible symbolism, these four offices, plus the four others allotted to women,—two whip owners and their two assistants,—gave the female sex a fair degree of recognition, and probably reflect the newer economic status of women which came about with the changing concept of inheritance. Formerly women, of course, had a right to their own property, but acquisition thereof was mainly through their own manufacture, such as clothing, or through the relatively rare gift of a horse or so. They did not come in for any valuable property through inheritance and a widow in those days was not even entitled to any of her deceased husband's belongings.

The holding of office in the Grass dance thus offered one of the very few means remaining for acquisition of status by the individual. The frequent transfer of offices meant that there was opportunity for many individuals within each category,—mature men, older warriors, young men, women,—to enjoy such public recognition.

Public display of generosity in giving away property to honor a loved one, which became such a marked feature of the Grass dance in its later phase, carried on and accentuated the method most common in older Gros Ventre culture for the gaining of individual prestige. Formerly there were many opportunities for this kind of ostentatious liberality,—when a pipe or a painted lodge was transferred, when a warrior returned from accomplishing brave deeds, when a person was participating in one of the Sacred Dances, when a person was named, when a child's ears were pierced, and so on. At such times the relatives publicly gave away as much of their property as they possibly could,—not to the recipient of the pipe, the brave warrior, the participant in the Sacred Dance, et al.,—but to someone else in his honor. Everybody would know what was given and by whom; people would make such comments as: "So-and-so is a fine man. He surely must think a lot of his relative—look at all the things he

gave away in his honor." When first adopted the Grass dance offered only one such opportunity—and a relatively minor one. As times changed, however, the Grass dance provided practically the sole occasion for gaining prestige while at the same time carrying out the old pattern of kinship obligation by enhancing the prestige of relatives.

The possibility in the later form of the Grass dance of paying for privileges, such as locking the door, or whipping those who did not get up to dance, gave further scope for the acquisition of prestige through liberality, as did also, of course, payments at transfer of office.

It was estimated by our informants that around 1900 as much as a thousand dollars in goods and cash changed hands at a single performance of the Grass dance. At that time it was not uncommon for the dance to be held at weekly intervals. So long as the Gros Ventre were relatively prosperous and had property to display and exchange according to the older patterns, the Grass dance continued to function. With increasing poverty, however, along with other factors such as the changing points of view and interests on the part of the younger generation, and the dying out of the older warriors, the Grass dance, the core of which was the dog ritual, gradually paled off leaving but the remnants of some of the round dances which had been added to the Grass dance as originally adopted from the Assiniboine.

Summary

Between 1875 and 1880 the Gros Ventres received the Grass dance from the Assiniboine. From the date of adoption up to about 1890 the Grass dance was performed only by members of one of the two soldier societies and the custodians of the ceremonial equipment were the officers. Offices were transferred among members according to the old Gros Ventre pattern.

The essential core of the Grass dance was the dog ritual, a ceremonial eating of dog flesh, carried out by the owners of the equipment with the assistance of four warriors selected from among the lay members. Other features of the program at each

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

796 178 longer existed. The dance of one of them, the Grass dance, however, survived. In its changed form the Grass dance filled the void in social life during the transition from old to new.

With the admission of all to membership and through the addition of round dances in which all could actively participate, the Grass dance met the needs for group recreational outlets and for expression of social solidarity.

796 178 554 As the sole surviving institution which carried the concept of graded offices and their transfer, the Grass dance met the need of the individual for status along traditional lines. The expansion of offices allowed for the recognition of types of ability formerly premiated and opened the way for younger men as well as for women in emphasizing different kinds of ability.

Finally, the Grass dance met the need of the individual for prestige in accordance with the older pattern by offering opportunity for ostentatious liberality. By bestowing gifts publicly [431] at the Grass dance, one could gain the coveted reputation for generosity, while at the same time fulfilling a substantial part of one's obligation to kinsmen.

796 182 The Grass dance continued to function in this way up to about 1916, after which time it began gradually to pale off, and to practically disappear by 1920. The few round dances carried on at present under the name "Grass dance" bear no appreciable relationship to the lively and colorful performances that are remembered by the older Gros Ventres as having been so stimulating and enjoyable.

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

INDIVIDUAL VARIATION IN CULTURE

Regina Flannery

It is generally accepted that what Benedict called the Dionysian configuration of Plains culture represents a dominant, if not the only trend. By definition a configuration is a generalization lying behind and explaining a number of cultural patterns. A pattern itself is of course an abstraction from the behavior of a number of individuals. The behavior of any one person may vary at different times in respect to a particular type of situation, but it is unlikely that the individual will show the whole range of possible behavior within a pattern; it will cover only a portion thereof. As Linton pointed out, the difference between the individual mode within this segment, and the mode of the behaviors on which the pattern is based, reflects the compromise which every individual has to make between the culture patterns of his society and his own inclinations. It would seem further, then, that if the modes of an individual's behavior-ranges show a consistent displacement with respect to a large series of patterns, it is safe to assume that the direction of this displacement reflects some quality of the individual.[1] The question we wish to raise is this: If the aspect of personality thus revealed runs counter to a dominant trend of his culture, is the individual a misfit in that society?

In attempting an answer, let us examine some individual variations within those patterns of Plains culture in which expression of emotional excess, and dangerous experience were expected of women in one Plains society, that of the Gros Ventres of Montana. We shall outline in some detail the behavior of one Gros Ventre woman in respect of these selected patterns—from which the Dionysian configuration was abstracted—and contrast her behavior with that of others of approximately the same age. All had participated as adults in the old way of life before the disappearance of the buffalo in 1887.

In Gros Ventre culture, as in all the Plains, there was high valuation placed on direct contact of the individual with the supernatural through dreams and visions. Men could actively seek such contact by employing dangerous means, and did so in order to obtain many kinds of power. While women did not go on the actual power quest, they might acquire medicine powers and less frequently, perhaps, powers of clairvoyance. Medicine powers were considered dangerous in that, it was believed, by accepting them a limitation was put upon the life span of the practitioner. But the rewards in terms of prestige for successful performance and of payment for services were high for women as well as for men. Not every individual man was successful in his quest, nor of course was every woman vouchsafed the kinds of dreams which were requisite. Coming Daylight, the woman whose behavior we are examining in particular, was what her contemporaries considered fortunate indeed in having been offered curing powers of several kinds. Nevertheless she rejected the possibility each time, in spite of the fact that she had a living example in the person of her father's sister of what it could mean in prestige to a woman who accepted. As the reasons for her refusal seem significant I shall describe her experience in her own words.

[p. 87]

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Her final rejoinder was such a witty and pointed one that everyone laughed heartily at her rival's expense. In this culture, of course, public ridicule was a far more effective retaliation than the biting and scratching that other women said frankly they would have indulged in when attacked.

Expression of emotional excess was institutionalized for the Gros Ventres, as for the rest of the Plains, in the bereavement situation. Upon the death of a husband, son, or father, a woman was expected to start wailing as soon as she heard the news, have her hair cut off, discard good clothes for old ragged ones, gash her arms and legs, go to the hills to mourn and cry, resisting for a time the pleas of her relatives to return, and being watched lest she attempt suicide. Coming Daylight was only a young woman when she was first widowed and the mourning pattern was still in full vogue. It is certain from other evidence than Coming Dayling had a deep affection for this husband to whom she had been given as a child-bride and in whose kindly and indulgent treatment she had found a pleasant escape from the rigorous discipline of her grandmother. Nevertheless the public expression of her grief was minimal—no abandonment for her. Although her sister was sent on the hills with her to keep watch over her in the usual way, Coming Daylight was easily persuaded to return shortly though she herself was proud of the fact that she had stayed out so long that she actually had got a frozen toe! In later years when all that was left of the ritual was the wailing out on the hills, she lost the son whom she herself, and everybody else, acknowledged as her favorite. She had not been on the hills very long when she experienced a significant dream, as follows. She was in a lodge at the rear of which was a big pile of tobacco mixture and a pipe. The owner of the lodge filled the pipe and approached her. She was frightened because she didn't smoke. The owner of the lodge however told her: "Look at these people." She looked and saw many with their hair cut and their bodies bleeding from the gashes inflicted in grief. The man then told her: "That is in the past. Nowadays your only consolation is in smoking." So she accepted the pipe and, after smoking it, she was painted in ceremonial fashion by each of those other mourners. Then the owner of the lodge dismissed her saying: "Now, go home and don't ever go on the hills and mourn again. But always smoke if you want to." She went home right after this dream and when she told her husband of it he accepted it as valid and persuaded her sister to prepare for Coming Daylight her first real smoke. She maintained that the habit subsequently developed was actually a great comfort to her.

The final area with which we shall be concerned here is the war complex—a vital aspect of the old Plains culture. Gros Ventre women were allowed direct but limited participation in these activities in the sense that, while they would not join a party of men who were going on horse-raiding or revenge expeditions, if opportunity offered they might exhibit the same kind of bravery that a man should show and derive considerable status therefrom. For instance, if one of the enemy fell nearby, the women rushed out from camp to count coup, and to grab trophies with which to inaugurate the relationship known as "enemy-friends." Coming Daylight, however, was never one to indulge in this sport. She told of the one—and to her extremely distasteful—occasion on which her hand literally was forced. It seems that during a raid on their camp one of the enemy was shot and her husband scalped him. The victim was lying not far from her lodge and, as her husband dashed off to pursue the rest of the Assiniboine, he shouted for her to come out and see what was going on. Coming Daylight saw the man lying there, face down, covered with blood. He was not dead

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

and, each time he attempted to get to his knees, one of two women who had already reached the scene would strike him on the buttocks with the flat side of a hatchet, making an insulting remark, and both would laugh. Coming Daylight hesitated at some distance from where the other two were gloating over the fallen enemy. When one of them, Woman Chief by name, saw her she ran to her saying: "Why are you standing so far off?" She grabbed her by the arm and pushed a big club into her hand, saying: "He is still alive—you will do a great thing. *Ahe:ya'!*" Woman Chief forced Coming Daylight to strike him.

While both Woman Chief and Coming Daylight closely approximated the ideal for women as faithful wives and efficient workers who gave generously of their material goods to and on behalf of their relatives, they seemingly differed in temperament. Woman Chief was known as a very brave woman, and Coming Daylight was frank in admitting she would never have dreamed of doing the kinds of things for which Woman Chief was renowned. One of the latter's exploits, for example, was as follows. The Gros Ventres and Crow were allies in an encounter with the Piegan. The battle was in full force, but one Crow had withdrawn and was sitting motionless astride his horse at some distance from the melee. Woman Chief, who in contrast to most women was always well mounted, dashed up to the Crow, grabbed his wand from his hand, and rode pellmell into the thick of the battle, counting coups right and left. So brave was she considered in having really risked her life that she was accorded the distinction, most unusual for a woman, of being led around the camp circle with the victorious warriors. Furthermore, so many people came to sing in front of her lodge that she and her relatives, to show their appreciation of the honor, were forced to give away as much property as though she were a man. Judging on the basis of other biographical material, there can be no doubt that she gloried in her reputation and took every opportunity to enhance it. She was one to whom the more violent aspects of Gros Ventre culture were exceedingly congenial.

If we compare and contrast these two women we can say that insofar as the patterns of Dionysian configuration are the basis of the comparison, their behavior exhibits opposite extremes, the one going beyond the average in the direction of the configuration, the other running counter to and participating less than the average therein. Both might be termed deviant personalities in Honigmann's sense of the term,[2] one overplaying and the other underplaying modal behavior in these selected patterns. Nevertheless, neither seems to have been a misfit insofar as each represents an extreme of socially accepted or sanctioned behavior within those patterns. If, for instance, Coming Daylight had been completely negative, and refused, say, to carry out at least the culturally defined minimum for mourning, had she, in addition to refusing to mutilate herself for the recovery of her ill relatives, neglected as an adult even the safe and less strenuous means to that end, she would have fallen without the pale, so to speak, and have been a misfit. If, at the opposite end of the scale, Woman Chief had gone further in the direction of masculinity, had she actually gone on raiding expeditions and herself stolen horses from the camp of the enemy, had she learned to shoot the bow and arrow or gun, or had she so much as adopted the vocabulary and/or pronunciation proper for males in the Gros Ventres language, she would have been carrying things too far. She, too, would have been dubbed a misfit.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D.C.